

NOMINATION OF ALAN SAGNER TO BE A MEMBER  
OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE COR-  
PORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

Y 4. C 73/7: S. HRG. 103-554

Nominations of Alan Sagner to be a...

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE,  
SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION  
UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

MAY 10, 1994

Printed for the use of the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation



AUG 4 1994

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# NOMINATION OF ALAN SAGNER TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

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TUESDAY, MAY 10, 1994

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION,  
*Washington, DC.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 3:45 p.m. in room SR-253, Russell Senate Office Building, Hon. Daniel K. Inouye, presiding.

Staff members assigned to this hearing: Sheryl J. Wilkerson and Rebecca A. Kojm, professional staff members; and Mary P. McManus, minority staff counsel, and Emily J. Gallop, minority professional staff member.

## OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR INOUE

Senator INOUE. May I call upon the Honorable Frank Lautenberg, U.S. Senator from the State of New Jersey? And may I call upon the nominee for the CPB, Mr. Alan Sagner?

## STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK R. LAUTENBERG, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY

Senator LAUTENBERG. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. While we wait for Mr. Sagner to come to the table, I do want to say that in my earlier service in the Senate I sat on this committee and always enjoyed it. I like the agenda, and I would have to say, Mr. Chairman, you always have a way of adding a note of wisdom to your comments. And when you talked about the first amendment protection and some of the things we are concerned about, it is always refreshing to examine what it is that keeps us so free. And that is some liberty that sometimes occasionally provides room for offense to one of us or another. But nevertheless, it protects the right to speak out.

Mr. Chairman, I am delighted to be here to present someone from New Jersey with whom I have had a long-time association. Alan Sagner and I go back for more than 25 years. It is rare that one has a chance to introduce someone having the kind of knowledge that one has here about a prospective appointment. And that is my opportunity and frankly my privilege this day with Alan Sagner.

Alan has had a very distinguished background in both public service and in the private sector. He is a businessman, considered



one of the better people in an industry that has gone through some turmoil and tribulation, and that is the real estate construction and development industry. Alan's reputation there is superb.

But our association has been more ordinary or more routine when he introduced me, in fact Mr. Chairman, to what I would have to say is my Senate career, because Alan was involved in a very serious way in matters of transportation, serving on the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, appointed by a Governor whom we both knew. He knew the then-Governor Byrne perhaps somewhat better than I, and Alan recommended me for a post on the Port Authority, as a Commissioner on the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, one of the best operating semipublic bodies, agencies, in the country. It is an agency that includes airports and bus terminals and truck terminals and marine terminals and bridges and tunnels, an excellent agency.

Alan was commissioner of transportation in the cabinet of Governor Byrne and then became chairman of the Port Authority, and he rendered distinguished service there. He was innovative, hard-charging, Alan is the kind of fellow who brought his business experience to the public sector and merged the two of them very, very efficiently. He is known to be frugal where it is necessary to be frugal—I am not talking about his personal habits, I am talking about his professional bent—and brings it with him wherever he goes in the public sector, and there have been many activities in which he has taken a place, not the least of which is the 42d Street in New York Development Board. And if you see some of the changes that are contemplated in this area of despair and destitution, it would be a most impressive thing.

So, I think Alan Sagner is an ideal candidate for an appointment to the Corporation of Public Broadcasting Board. I think he will serve us well. He is a clear thinking, intelligent individual. I say things here that I do not always say to him privately, but Mr. Chairman, the truth will out; Alan Sagner is a distinguished public servant, he will do a good job wherever he is put, and I am pleased to recommend him for expedited and positive response from this committee.

Senator INOUE. Senator Lautenberg, thank you very much for your patience in waiting for your turn, and I realize that you have had to leave your meeting which you were presiding over and now you will have to leave.

I have been asked by Senator Bradley to place his statement in the record. As you know, Senator Bradley also had a hearing which he is presiding over, and he sends his regrets to you, sir.

[The prepared statement of Senator Bradley follows:]

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR BRADLEY

I am very pleased to join my colleague Senator Lautenberg in introducing Alan Sagner to this committee. I can think of no one better qualified to serve on the board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting than someone like Alan Sagner, whose career has balanced achievement in business with public service.

In both his roles, Alan Sagner has helped shape the landscape of New Jersey in much the way the Corporation for Public Broadcasting seeks to shape our cultural landscape. As a residential developer, he built much of the community around Livingston and East Hanover, NJ. Beginning in 1974, when he became commissioner of transportation for my State, and a commissioner of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, he has been actively engaged in developing the public policy



and planning process that would build both economic prosperity and a better quality of life for our region. He later served as NJ Chairman of the Tri-State Regional Planning Commission, and for many years as chairman of the Port Authority.

Alan Sagner's activities have not been limited to development and planning. He has been president of the Board of Trustees at Newark's Beth Israel Medical Center, and vice president of the Health and Hospitals Council of Metropolitan New Jersey. As a current board member of Business Executives for National Security, he has been a strong voice for a sound defense policy, and on the board of the 42d Street Development Corp., he has tackled the difficult task of turning an area characterized by physical and cultural decay into a welcoming locale for visitors and business alike.

Alan Sagner's career embodies the ideals of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting—a broad, generous civic spirit; a concern for the health of our culture; and a conviction that the public and private sectors can collaborate to build a better future. I hope the committee will endorse his nomination quickly and unanimously.

Senator INOUE. We will now consider the nomination of Mr. Alan Sagner to be a member of the Corporation of Public Broadcasting for a term expiring January 31, 1998. The CPB is a private, nonprofit nongovernmental corporation authorized by the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. It is responsible for extending public broadcasting to all Americans and for promoting broadcast programming aimed at audiences whose needs are not addressed by commercial broadcasters. Mr. Chairman, your comments, please.

#### OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR HOLLINGS

The CHAIRMAN. The committee meets today to consider the nomination of Alan Sagner to the board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. I welcome Mr. Sagner to the committee.

Mr. Sagner has over 50 years of business experience. He has worked for many years for the States of New Jersey and New York, and has affiliations with numerous professional, civic, and charitable boards and associations.

As a member of the CPB board, Mr. Sagner will be called upon to maintain the commitment to quality and educational programming on public broadcasting, and to ensure that television fulfills its potential as a source of learning for all Americans in this country.

I look forward to Mr. Sagner's testimony this afternoon.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator INOUE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As a member of the board, Mr. Sagner will be responsible for setting policy and establishing the program priorities of the CPB. Mr. Sagner will face the difficult challenge of identifying and funding the highest quality broadcast programming, while ensuring that the Corporation demonstrates balance and objectivity.

This is an appropriate time to remind CPB and public broadcasting stations to continue to provide programming for minorities and traditionally unserved and underserved areas, to continue their efforts to provide educational and instructional information to our Nation's homes and schools, to promote technological developments, and to keep the doors open so that the American people can express their views about public broadcasting. This is not going to be an easy job for you, sir.

As Senator Lautenberg pointed out, Mr. Sagner has extensive business experience—over 50 years. We are most pleased to have you with us. I would just like to make a personal note. We had a

nominee a few hours ago—a few minutes ago—34 years old. And is your résumé correct, you were born in 1920?

Mr. SAGNER. Yes, sir.

Senator INOUE. I am glad you are here. You make me feel younger. [Laughter.]

Mr. SAGNER. That is my job in too many places, I am afraid. [Laughter.]

Senator INOUE. Mr. Sagner, I welcome you and I look forward to hearing your statement and your responses that may be posed by members of this committee. It is my hope that we will be able to report your nomination before the end of the month. As I announced, a week from now we will have a special meeting of this committee, and at that time I hope we will have the opportunity to recommend your confirmation, sir.

Mr. SAGNER. Thank you, Senator.

Senator INOUE. May I now call upon you, Mr. Sagner, for your statement?

# **STATEMENT OF ALAN SAGNER, NOMINEE-DESIGNATE TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING**

Mr. SAGNER. I have a brief statement, Senator.

I am honored to be here today to answer any questions that you and the others might have concerning my appointment to the board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and thank you for this opportunity.

I know, Mr. Chairman, that you and Senator Stevens, who I had a chance to meet with earlier today, as well as other committee members have contributed to making public broadcasting the strong and vital institution that it is today. And I appreciate President Clinton allowing me this opportunity to be of service, and my two Senators from New Jersey, Senator Bradley and Senator Lautenberg, for their endorsements.

My experience over the years in business, community activity, politics, and government, has demonstrated to me how important it is for our citizens to know more about our country, its history, culture, and environment. It is important to enable people to intelligently perform their civic responsibilities, yes, and to motivate them to become more involved.

Many of my activities have been dedicated to this objective. It has become apparent to me in this effort that radio and television are the ultimate avenue for the most effective accomplishment of this goal. This observation, which is shared by my friends and associates of all political persuasions, is that the continuing decrease in the number of citizens participating in elections and other political activity limits the effectiveness of our government at all levels.

I have been a board member of Business Executives for National Security, and the chair of the Center for American Culture Studies at Columbia University, where our programs endeavor to adjust this problem. And there, we saw the obvious advantage that radio and TV have in reaching large audiences over and above any publications or meetings that we could organize.

As a businessperson I am acutely aware of the need to be fiscally responsible and have all institutions accountable for value received



for public money spent. That is what I have been doing in my own enterprises over the years, and as Frank mentioned, even in the rough few years in the real estate business, and this is what I have done in other organizations that I have been responsible for, and this is what I will do if I am confirmed for this position on the board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Great changes are ahead for the information superhighway. I want to help to see if there are traffic lanes provided in a rational and responsible way, lanes that represent the public agenda. This might require a fresh new approach to the policies and practices of the past. Over the years of my participation I have seen radical changes in areas that I have been involved in, in the building business, in hospital care, yes, and in the political process. I have seen vast changes. To merit continued public support, directly or indirectly, public radio and television must justify a distinct need not filled by the commercial media as, for example, public radio and television doing Alaska.

So, if confirmed, I look forward to working with the staff and my fellow trustees of the Corporation and Members of Congress and other public officials.

Thank you.

[The biographical data and prehearing questions and answers of Mr. Sagner follow:]

#### BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Name: Sagner, Alan; address: 2 Crest Circle, South Orange, NJ 07079; business address: 3 A.D.P. Boulevard, Roseland, NJ 07068.

Position to which nominated: Member of Board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting; date of nomination: April 1994.

Date of birth: September 13, 1920; place of birth: Baltimore, MD.

Marital status: Married; full name of spouse: Ruth Sagner; names and ages of children: John Sagner, 47; Deborah Buurma, 44; and Amy Pouliot, 41.

Education: Forest Park High School, Baltimore, MD, 1934-38; University of Maryland, 1938-42, BA; and Columbia University, 1988-91, MA.

Employment: 1980-present, Self-employed, Real Estate Developer; 1974-80, In government; 1972-73, Self-employed, Real Estate Development; 1947-72, Self-employed, Real Estate Development; 1946-47, Prior Manufacturing Co., Clothing Manufacturing; 1942-46, A. Sagner & Sons, Clothing Manufacturing.

Government experience: 1977-87, Chairman, Port Authority of New York and New Jersey; 1974-77, Commissioner, Port Authority of New York and New Jersey; 1974-77, Commissioner of Transportation, State of New Jersey; and 1976-77, New Jersey Chairman, Tri-State Regional Planning Commission.

Political affiliations: 1992, Manager Trustee of Democratic National Committee; Member of New Jersey State Finance Team; Organized and chaired New Jersey Business Council for Clinton-Gore; and Organized Republicans for Clinton-Gore. 1988, Trustee for Democratic National Committee; and Delegate to convention in Atlanta. 1984, Delegate to convention in San Francisco.

Date	Title	Amount
31-Jan-85	Friends of Alan Karcher .....	\$150.00
30-Apr-85	Democratic Legislative Committee (1985) .....	500.00
31-May-85	Essex County Democrats .....	5,000.00
31-May-85	Lautenberg Committee .....	500.00
31-May-85	Shapiro 88 Committee .....	800.00
30-Jun-85	Friends of Bob Toricelli .....	1,000.00
31-Jan-86	Shapiro 86 Committee .....	500.00
28-Feb-86	Shapiro 86 Committee .....	2,000.00
31-Mar-86	Lautenberg Committee .....	11000.00
31-May-86	Citizens for Rodino .....	1,000.00
31-May-86	Shapiro 86 Committee .....	500.00
31-May-86	Friends of Sharpe James .....	3,500.00

Date	Title	Amount
30-Sep-86	Shapiro 86 Committee .....	10,000.00
30-Sep-86	Bob Toricelli for Congress .....	500.00
31-Jan-87	Friends of Gary Hart .....	1,000.00
28-Feb-87	NJ Democratic State Comm .....	1,500.00
28-Feb-87	Friends of Richard Codey .....	200.00
31-Mar-87	Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee .....	1,000.00
30-Apr-87	Dukakis for President .....	250.00
31-May-87	Democrats '87 .....	500.00
31-May-87	Albert Gore for President .....	250.00
30-Jun-87	U.S. Senate Democratic Leadership Circle .....	5,000.00
30-Jun-87	Friends of Les Aspin .....	1,000.00
31-Jul-87	Friends of Hamilton Fish .....	1,000.00
31-Jul-87	Friends of J. Stockman .....	500.00
31-Aug-87	Essex County Democrats .....	500.00
31-Dec-87	Bill Bradley for Senate .....	2,000.00
31-Jan-88	Babbitt for President .....	1,000.00
28-Feb-88	Dukakis for President .....	750.00
28-Feb-88	Jackson for President .....	1,000.00
30-Apr-88	T. D'Alessio for Sheriff .....	250.00
30-Apr-88	Friends of M. Jackson .....	250.00
31-May-88	Essex County Democrats .....	1,250.00
31-May-88	McCarthy for U.S.Senate .....	1,000.00
31-May-88	Payne for Congress .....	250.00
31-May-88	Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee .....	1,000.00
30-Jun-88	NJ Democratic State Comm .....	1,000.00
30-Jun-88	Friends of Lynn Adelman .....	100.00
30-Jun-88	Congressman Toricelli .....	500.00
30-Jun-88	Democratic National Comm. Victory Fund .....	75,000.00
31-Jul-88	Friends of Hamilton Fish .....	1,000.00
31-Jul-88	Congressman Toricelli .....	500.00
31-Jul-88	Essex County Democratic Comm .....	500.00
30-Sep-88	Dukakis Transition '88 .....	5,000.00
30-Sep-88	Mike Espy for Congress .....	250.00
30-Sep-88	Friends of Bob Toricelli .....	125.00
31-Oct-88	T. D'Alessio Campaign .....	250.00
31-Oct-88	Mezvinsky for Att'y Gen .....	250.00
31-Jan-89	N.J. Democrats-State Committee .....	1,000.00
28-Feb-89	Atlantans for M. Jackson .....	250.00
30-Mar-89	Firends of Les Aspin .....	500.00
31-Mar-89	Committee for H. McEnroe .....	100.00
31-Mar-89	Friends of J. Stockman .....	300.00
30-Apr-89	Lautenberg Committee .....	500.00
30-Apr-89	Vinich for Congress .....	1,000.00
31-May-89	Essex County Democrats .....	1,000.00
30-Jun-89	Florio for Governor .....	1,500.00
07-Jul-89	Essex County Democrats .....	500.00
31-Aug-89	Choicepac .....	100.00
31-Aug-89	Friends of Richard Codey .....	175.00
31-Aug-89	Citizens for Ravitch .....	1,000.00
26-Sep-89	Democratic Senatorial Campaign .....	10,000.00
30-Sep-89	Choicepac .....	180.00
30-Sep-89	Friends/Greta Kiernan .....	150.00
30-Sep-89	Wilder for Governor .....	500.00
31-Oct-89	Donald Bradley Campaign .....	1,000.00
31-Oct-89	Dinkins Campaign .....	500.00
31-Oct-89	Fund—Elect B. Fortunato .....	100.00
31-Oct-89	Friends/Winona Lipman .....	50.00
30-Nov-89	Democratic National Committee .....	1,000.00
08-Jan-90	Inaugural '90 .....	500.00
12-Feb-90	Friends of Les Aspin .....	1,000.00
27-Feb-90	Chandler for Congress .....	1,000.00
02-Mar-90	Citizens for Harkin .....	1,000.00
05-Mar-90	Kerry for Senator .....	1,000.00
06-Mar-90	Don Payne for Congress .....	250.00
06-Mar-90	Friends of J. Stockman .....	250.00
15-Mar-90	Simon for Senate .....	500.00

Date	Title	Amount
03-Apr-90	Friends of Bob Toricelli .....	1,000.00
07-Apr-90	Wyche Fowler for Senate .....	1,000.00
18-Apr-90	Citizens for Harkin .....	1,000.00
30-Apr-90	Simon for Senate .....	500.00
09-May-90	Essex County Friends of Vic DeLuca .....	100.00
31-May-90	Easely for Senate .....	1,000.00
01-Jun-90	Toricelli—PAC .....	50.00
13-Jun-90	Inaugural Committee—Sharpe James .....	125.00
10-Aug-90	Friends—Senator Pell .....	500.00
20-Aug-90	Democratic Party .....	1,000.00
20-Sep-90	Exon for US Senate .....	500.00
01-Oct-90	Essex County Democrats .....	150.00
18-Oct-90	Salmon for Senate .....	100.00
18-Oct-90	Friends—Rosa De Lauro .....	125.00
01-Nov-90	Texas Democratic State Comm. for Richards (Ann) .....	500.00
08-Nov-90	Payne for Congress Payne .....	250.00
14-Feb-91	Abrams 92 Committee .....	1,000.00
04-Mar-91	Friends—Jerry Stockman .....	175.00
25-Mar-91	Friends—Robert Andrews .....	250.00
28-Mar-91	Democratic Congressional Dinner Committee .....	5,000.00
15-Apr-91	Lautenberg Committee .....	500.00
02-May-91	Essex County Democrats .....	150.00
20-May-91	Don Payne for Congress .....	250.00
03-Sep-91	Stockman for Senate .....	150.00
03-Sep-91	Americans for Harkin .....	250.00
23-Sep-91	Americans for Harkin .....	750.00
04-Oct-91	Harry Pozycki for Senate .....	150.00
10-Oct-91	Essex County Democratic Committee .....	150.00
10-Oct-91	Elly Manov for NJ Senate .....	150.00
14-Oct-91	Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committe .....	5,000.00
01-Nov-91	Pozycki for Senate .....	150.00
31-Dec-91	Tom Harkin Legal Def Fun .....	1,000.00
31-Mar-92	Clinton for President .....	1,000.00
30-Jun-92	Lagermasini—Democrats for Change .....	1,000.00
30-Jun-92	Democratic National Committee .....	9,500.00
31-Jul-92	Passaic Democratic Committee .....	1,000.00
30-Sep-92	NJ Gala—92 .....	3,000.00
30-Sep-92	Clinton for Governor .....	1,000.00
31-Oct-92	Middlesex County Democrats .....	100.00
31-Oct-92	Democrats for Change .....	20,000.00
30-Nov-92	South Orange Democratic Committee .....	100.00
31-Dec-92	Presidential Transition Plan Foundation .....	1,000.00
31-Dec-92	Presidential Inaugural Committee .....	3,000.00
31-Dec-92	Emily's List .....	1,000.00
14-Jan-93	Florid Exploratory Committee .....	1,800.00
27-Jan-93	Democratic Governors Association .....	1,500.00
08-Feb-93	Citizens to Elect Sharpe James .....	200.00
25-Feb-93	Bill Bradley—US Senate '96 .....	500.00
01-Mar-93	Terry for Governor .....	150.00
01-Apr-93	Democratic Senatorial Committee .....	5,000.00
01-Apr-93	Ted Kennedy .....	1,000.00
04-Apr-93	Lautenberg Committee (Primary) .....	1,000.00
04-Apr-93	Lautenberg Committee (General) .....	1,000.00
16-Apr-93	Bernard Kenny Jr. for Senator .....	200.00
28-Apr-93	Democratic National Committee .....	7,500.00
27-Apr-93	Byron Baer, Democrat for Senate .....	500.00
30-Jun-93	Campaign '93 .....	5,000.00
25-Aug-93	Stockman for Senate .....	250.00
25-Aug-93	Friends of Cody .....	150.00
30-Aug-93	Friends of Everette .....	500.00
14-Sep-93	Campaign '93 .....	2,500.00
21-Sep-93	MacInnes for Senate .....	1,500.00
21-Oct-93	Campaign '93 .....	15,000.00
30-Nov-93	McCall for Comptroller '94 .....	500.00
01-Feb-94	Citizens to Elect Sharpe James .....	200.00
28-Feb-94	Herb Klein Congress (General) .....	1,000.00



Date	Title	Amount
28-Feb-94	Herb Klein-Congress (Primary) .....	1,000.00
03-Mar-94	Democratic Senatorial Campaign .....	5,000.00
22-Mar-94	Democratic National Committee .....	5,000.00
24-Mar-94	Bill Bradley for Senate .....	1,000.00

Memberships: President, Board of Trustees, Newark Beth Israel Medical Center, New Jersey; Vice President, Health and Hospitals Council of Metropolitan New Jersey; Trustee, New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry; Board Member, Regional Plan Association, New York City; Board Member, Business Executives for National Security, DC; Member, Advisory Board Columbia University School of General Studies; Chairman, Executive Board, Columbia University Center for American Culture Studies; Board Member, 42d Street Development Corp.; Board Member, Paper Mill Playhouse; Chair, National U.J.A. Young Leadership Cabinet; Member, Executive Committee of the National United Jewish Appeal; President, Mountain Ridge Country Club, Caldwell, NJ; Member, Palm Beach Country Club, Palm Beach, FL; Member, Stockbridge Golf Club, Stockbridge, MA; Member, Orange Lawn Tennis Club, South Orange, NJ; Member, Harmonie Club, New York, NY; and Charter Member and Past President, Livingston, (NJ) Rotary Club.

Honors and awards: Knight of the Year, Seton Hall University, 1978; Annual Honoree, ACLU, 1979; Citizen Award, New Jersey Medical Society, 1981; and Man of the Year, South Orange, NJ, 1977.

Published writings: None.

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#### PREHEARING QUESTIONS ASKED BY THE COMMITTEE AND ANSWERS THERETO BY MR. SAGNER

*Question.* What initiatives would you undertake as a Member of the CPB Board of Directors? What issues are of particular interest to you?

*Answer.* I hesitate to describe "initiatives" until I know the Corporation for Public Broadcasting more fully.

There are three areas that would have a priority for me.

1) To explore the possibility of programming and broadcasting of high quality programs that can attract audiences to a balanced and historically correct presentation of the history and culture of our country.

2) To find a role for CPB to get such programs and many of the existing programs to audiences around the globe, especially in third world countries. The tremendous popularity of American television abroad has created a voracious demand for programming, much of which is violent, lurid, or presents a radically distorted view of the United States. Professor Paul Kennedy, in his book, "Preparing for the 21st Century," considers the communication explosion high on his list of concerns.

3) To explore the possibility of increasing funding in a dependable and responsible way to finance the programming and broadcasting in the public area.

*Question.* In general, are there any changes that you would seek to make in the policies and procedures of the CPB?

*Answer.* I have reservations about suggesting changes in the policies and procedures of the CPB until I have more opportunity to discuss with present Board members and staff, the basis upon which they are currently operating.

*Question.* One of the issues that has arisen repeatedly in connection with the CPB is the propriety of federal funding for public broadcasting. Do you support federal funding as a method of financing public radio and television?

*Answer.* I support government financing, both at the federal and at the state level, for public broadcasting. While federal funding is a relatively small percentage of the total money spent, it is significant enough to play a major role—the one that I believe appropriate for the government. Our elected officials and their institutions represent the public in a way that no commercial enterprise dedicated to profit only, can. Therefore, overseeing and supporting public broadcasting is logical.

*Question.* What are your views on alternative financing, such as enhanced underwriting for public broadcasting?

*Answer.* Inasmuch as present public broadcasting is financed essentially by funds other than government, the possibility of expanding current resources and exploring new resources should be examined. A delicate balance is required to make certain that underwriting is a public service of the donor and doesn't intrude upon the management or programming of what is broadcast.

*Question.* One of the major goals of the CPB has been the expansion of public broadcasting service to unserved or underserved parts of the country. While this goal has been largely fulfilled for public television, there are still many parts of the



country that are not served by public radio. Do you believe that the CPB needs to focus additional resources on expansion of public radio service?

Answer. I would enthusiastically support the efforts of CPB to expand public broadcasting to the unserved and underserved parts of the country. As a devoted listener to public radio and the fine programs produced by NPR, APR and the local station, I would support any rational plan to focus resources on the expansion of public radio service.

*Question.* In that same vein, concern has been expressed about the need for more radio programming which addresses the particular needs of audiences in rural areas and minority audiences. Do you believe that this concern is one that the CPB should address?

Answer. I understand the CPB has an ongoing minority participation program and is pursuing the needs of audiences in rural and minority interests. I know of no reason not to continue this.

*Question.* Some observers believe that public broadcasting should receive a percentage of the royalties from the sale of products involving characters that appear on public television stations. What are your thoughts on this issue?

Answer. Unless there are reasons that I am not aware of, I believe that public broadcasting should explore the possibility of obtaining its share of profits that would be derived from any production originating in the public sector.

*Question.* Many members of Congress intend to pass legislation this year which would lay a foundation for the development of America's new information highway. Some believe that this legislation should set aside capacity on this information highway for public broadcasters and educational institutions. What are your views on this issue?

Answer. The legislation under consideration by Congress is reported to lay a foundation for the development of America's new information highway and should be examined very carefully by those who have a responsibility for public broadcasting.

From what I have learned to date, the technological advances and their potential are both a positive and negative challenge for public broadcasting. On the positive side, increased capacity and accessibility would provide entree to many new consumers for the products of public television. However, I am aware also of the concern that the large number of channels that will be available would allow programming specialization that might diffuse the attraction that viewers of public broadcasting and television only find at that source. CPB could play a major role in seeing that advantage is taken of the positive aspects of these potential changes.

If confirmed, I will urge public broadcasting to use the excellent programming that our system produces to secure a place on the information superhighway. I also believe that the public's interest must be protected and nurtured in the NII. There are several proposals extant for doing just that, and I look forward to working with my colleagues on the Board as they address this issue.

Senator INOUE. I thank you very much, Mr. Sagner.

I would like to advise the committee that all necessary documents and questionnaires have been responded to, and submitted and received by the committee, and all seems to be in order.

Senator McCain.

Senator MCCAIN. Mr. Sagner, did you ask to come and visit with me as a part of your confirmation process?

Mr. SAGNER. I got here rather late today and we were not able to do that, Senator.

Senator MCCAIN. When were you told you were nominated?

Mr. SAGNER. When was I told? Well, it has been a long process. The actual knowledge that I would be having this hearing I got last Thursday.

Senator MCCAIN. It is customary, Mr. Sagner.

Tell me again your qualifications for this position?

Mr. SAGNER. Well, I think that I have had experience, Senator, in government. I served in the government of Brendan Byrne, I have served on the Port Authority, I have been involved in many other public affairs, and I am concerned, through my interest in government, community, and politics, as I said in my statement,

for the public to be well informed. I think there is no better way to do that than through the media of public radio and television.

In the hearings that I sat in for the FCC I heard Senator Danforth talking about the problems that he sees in commercial television, and I am in agreement with that statement. And I have three children and eight grandchildren, and I am concerned about what they see, what they are too exposed to on television. And I am very much interested in doing what I can to see that we bring the message and the programs that can be brought forth on public television and public radio.

Senator MCCAIN. Those are your qualifications for this job?

Mr. SAGNER. I think so. Yes, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. I notice by your information provided to the committee that you have been very generous over the years—\$283,405 to Democrat candidates for various offices. You have been very generous, Mr. Sagner, exceedingly generous.

I wonder, Mr. Sagner, just out of curiosity looking through this, on February 28, 1988 you gave both Mr. Dukakis \$750 and Jesse Jackson \$1,000 on the same day for President—interesting. Dukakis transition 1988. That must have been an interesting experience to have been in the Dukakis transition.

Well, this happens in administration to administration, Mr. Sagner. I do not think you are qualified. I do not think you have had any experience in public broadcasting, I do not think you have had any knowledge or involvement. I am very concerned about public broadcasting. Senator Dole and I have been very concerned about the clear bias of public broadcasting.

During the 1992 election campaign, PBS ran 6 hours of programs by Moyers and Greider on how badly the country failed under 12 years of Republican administrations, no opportunity to Republicans for rebuttal. What did not surprise anyone was the public broadcasters at WGBH who were reporting November results cheered on camera when it was announced that Clinton had gone over the top.

One of my favorites was the two shows charging that President Bush and former President Reagan stole the 1980 election by cutting a deal with the Ayatollah Khomeini, no opportunity again for rebuttal, nor were there any apologies or corrections offered by PBS when the October Surprise theory was dismissed as unproven by a Democrat-controlled committee of Congress.

So, we will continue to document the clear left bias, hour after hour of television programs praising the Marxist guerrillas in El Salvador, the Marxist dictatorships in Cuba and Nicaragua, and also under Senator Dole the Congress enacted amendments to the reauthorization bill that required the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to review its programming and take steps to balance its product. So far there clearly has been none.

So, I will not waste your time and the committee's by asking you questions in an area that I know you are not familiar with, and I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator INOUE. Senator Pressler.

Senator PRESSLER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to insert my prepared statement in the record.

Senator INOUE. So ordered.

[The prepared statement of Senator Pressler follows:]



## PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR PRESSLER

Mr. Chairman, thank you for holding today's hearing on the nomination of Alan Sagner to the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Since its creation in 1967, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) has been the cornerstone of public television and radio. Millions of Americans have been raised on its children's shows while their parents and grandparents have enjoyed the daily quality programming CPB offers. I am pleased to see that someone of Mr. Sagner's business background has been nominated to serve on the Board of Directors. I look forward to discussing with him some of the issues facing CPB.

Senator PRESSLER. Let me follow up on Senator McCain's question. Let us analyze this, because I think he has made some good points here.

What is your analysis of what is believed to be the liberal bias of public broadcasting. Of course, some of us say we are liberals and some say we are conservatives. In politics you generally have to register as a Republican or as a Democrat in order to get elected to this body, although I think we have one independent in the other body. In my State, the State legislators—the Republicans all feel that the news produced is biased toward the Democrats. And here in this Congress, the Republicans feel that the national news and programming is biased toward the so-called liberal point of view.

Of course, some of us just get used to that. I personally think that most people who work in the press come from what we term in modern time as a liberal point of view, which in neoclassic terms would be conservative. Anyway, you know what I mean.

Give us some analysis. Do you think that public broadcasting is fair, from what you have seen of it? Do you think it goes down the middle? Do you think it makes efforts to be fair? Because a lot of people feel that it makes efforts to be left of center.

Mr. SAGNER. I would not take that position, Senator. I have listened to public radio almost every day, NPR in the morning when I do my workout, and it is very hard to judge. I mean, by my record, as Senator McCain pointed out, I am a Democrat. I have supported the Democratic Party over many years, and I do not think that I am able to make an objective evaluation.

There are things that I hear on public radio that I do not agree with. There are things that I hear that I do agree with. I was just telling people at lunch today, I heard Nina Totenberg on NPR the other morning talking about this present possible lawsuit against the President, and I thought she was overlooking some very strong points that would be on the President's behalf that she did not mention. And so somebody who was "liberal," or supportive of the President would say that her view was not as it should have been whereas someone who was opposed to the President might have said she made a good case. It is very hard to judge these things objectively.

Senator PRESSLER. Well, I have more or less given up on trying to worry about the media, because it seems that it is going to do what it is going to do. But as I watch a lot of these special programs that PBS does, and I do watch some of them, as Senator McCain has pointed out they do seem to have a definite left slant, left in terms of what we mean today. Would you agree with that or disagree?

Mr. SAGNER. I would not agree with that.

Senator PRESSLER. You think they are fair?

Mr. SAGNER. I do.

Senator PRESSLER. And do you think an ample chance for response is given?

Mr. SAGNER. If it is not, and if I am confirmed for this position and someone points out to me specifics, I would feel it was my responsibility to see that there was a balance. I want to make that very specific, Senator.

Senator PRESSLER. Let me ask you about what changes you would like to make in the policies and procedures of the CPB?

Mr. SAGNER. I think it is premature for me to say, except that I would commit myself to what I just said, to see that what the Corporation does and what it supports is done fairly and objectively.

Senator PRESSLER. Now, you have been asked in the prequestions a little bit about the legislation this year. What is your view of setting aside capacity in the new information highway for public broadcasters and educational institutions how much should it be and who would pay for it?

Mr. SAGNER. The question that I was asked was, Do I believe that the Federal Government should support public broadcasting?

Senator PRESSLER. No, on Al Gore's new information highway.

Mr. SAGNER. Oh, yes. On the information highway.

Senator PRESSLER. Yes.

Mr. SAGNER. Well, I think the legislation is still being discussed in Congress. But I believe it is a very complicated question, as I tried to explain in my answer, Senator. I think the public broadcasting area has to justify its existence, as Senator Inouye pointed out. There are many options now that did not exist before, and as more channels become available—he mentioned Discovery Channel I believe, and A&E and others that are showing programs that were the province of public television, and now there will be more channels available and more specialized programs.

I think public television has to justify its existence by being distinctive and serving a need that is not served by the other channels. I am not prepared to say what that is yet because I do not know what the outcome is going to be, but that is what I had in mind when I gave the answer that I gave, that I think we are going through a period of great change.

Senator PRESSLER. Are you aware of a speech Senator Dole made critical of the direction public television is going in, in this country, on the Senate floor here the last time CPB's authorization was up? Have you read that speech?

Mr. SAGNER. No, I have not, sir.

Senator PRESSLER. For the record, would you read that speech and comment in writing on it?

Mr. SAGNER. Yes, I will.

[Senator Dole's speech can be found in a June 3, 1992 copy of the Congressional Record on pp. S7425-S7441. The response referred to above follows:]

At your request, I reviewed Senator Dole's June 3, 1992, floor statement made at the time of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting's last reauthorization. Your staff has verified to CPB that this is the speech to which you referred at my confirmation hearing. I read it carefully and was impressed by the scope of the Senator's commentary and review.



Senator Dole's framing of the debate in terms of accountability and balance had a familiar ring to me. As an experienced businessman and taxpayer, I share the Senator's concern that tax dollars be spent wisely and efficiently and, moreover, that a proper accounting be made for funds that are expended in the public interest. Management efficiency and cost savings are important regardless of the source of revenue.

If confirmed, I will strive as a member of the board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to see that funding is used primarily for programming and ancillary services and not for administrative costs. CPB's authorizing statute limits the amount of funding that can be spent on administration of the Corporation to no more than 5 percent. CPB currently maintains an operations budget at 4.5 percent. Also, as you may be aware, CPB board members receive no salary, just remuneration for expenses incurred. This is how it should be in a nonprofit corporation and I will do my best to see that sound business practices are brought to bear to keep administrative costs low at CPB, and the CPB-funded projects.

I believe that my many years of experience in business and government and my record of conservative fiscal management is one of my major qualifications for membership on the board of CPB.

My ability to achieve over 40 years of success in the competitive real estate and construction business, results from my concern about careful management and cost control.

My experience as chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey for 8 years supervising the expenditures and financial accountability of a quasi-public organization is pertinent as in many ways in which the CPB and Port Authority are similar. I became chairman of the Port Authority when it was under serious attack for alleged improper expenditures and waste by high level staff and certain officers and commissioners. My executive director, Peter Goldmark and I thoroughly investigated the claims and dealt appropriately with those responsible for any misdeeds. Most important, I initiated and staffed a new department of internal audit with an inspector general with strong and independent powers. If confirmed for this position, it is my intention to see that the CPB and any recipients of funds through the CPB are held strictly accountable, by making any necessary proposals with my fellow directors.

As for Senator Dole's concern for objectivity and balance in controversial programming, I agree with his point that public broadcasting has an obligation to be accurate and fair. If confirmed to the board, I intend to work with my fellow directors and staff to carry out CPB's obligations under the law.

Public broadcasting should continue to seek out all voices and points of view in programming. I believe CPB has taken strides to meet Senator Dole's concerns that all Americans, not just members of the public broadcasting establishment, be heard when reflecting on funding decisions in the past and for the future. I will continue to encourage this dialog with America so that those who have felt shut out of or even offended by public broadcasting decisions can be heard.

CPB has been endeavoring to do this in response to Section 19 of the Public Communications Act of 1992 through the program identified as Open to the Public. By soliciting comments through mail and 800 phone number, they have sought public input. While I commend and encourage this effort summarized in their report of January 31, 1994, I believe it should continue, but I do not think that this is the only way to achieve the objective. My concern is that when you invite responses in this manner, interest groups representing specific points of view can respond out of proportion to that of the general public. I believe that those who are elected truly represent the people—that is why they are the ones in office. As I did when I wanted to know the public response to actions that I was proposing at the Department of Transportation or at the Port Authority, if confirmed I will seek the advice of the Members of Congress, State and local officials, and Governors as an important supplement to information received from staff and surveys.

Very specifically, I am impressed by Senator Dole's statement, "I think public broadcasting should continue, but it ought to adopt some reforms." I am in complete agreement and stand ready to work with you and other Members of Congress to institute reforms that can strengthen public broadcasting and emphasize its positive benefits.

Senator PRESSLER. All right. Thank you.

Well, let me say that I hope that if you are confirmed that you will go over there and work for fairness in public broadcasting. You are a man who appears to be from a partisan background, but that makes you even more qualified to be fair. But it is the feeling of

many thoughtful Americans, not just myself. I would not put myself in that category, that there is a problem there in the way the programs are prepared, in the way the staff is selected, in the way people are—you cannot have a balanced program just by having one or two Republicans on for balance, it is the subtle things that go on. I think you know about that as well as all of us do.

But the way that is cured, and you cannot cure it entirely, is to have fair-minded people on that board who care about the future of public broadcasting, and I think probably you do. But I hope that it is not with a partisan spirit that you go there, and I look forward to reading your comments on Senator Dole's speech.

Mr. SAGNER. Yes, sir.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator INOUE. Thank you very much.

Mr. Sagner, you have responded to the questions that we have submitted, so I will not repeat those questions again. I would just like to make an observation. As I said earlier, I am constantly amazed at the number of high-quality, talented, successful citizens of the United States who step forward to take up public service when they could be at home in comfortable surroundings making money. And so as a citizen of the United States I thank you for making yourself available.

As a Democrat, I am proud to have you appointed by the President of the United States. After all, the law says the President shall appoint so many Democrats and so many Republicans. I would prefer to have someone who steps forward and says yes, I am a Republican, yes, I am a Democrat, instead of saying yes, I am a mugwump. [Laughter.]

Mr. SAGNER. I could not qualify for that, I am afraid.

Senator INOUE. And we will have a lot of work for you. I think it should be noted that we have public television on one side and commercial television on the other. Your job is to make certain that programming will reach the underserved and unserved areas where it would not be profitable for commercial broadcasting to enter.

I would like to see you enter into the field of education, the schoolroom, the classroom, and as far as the highway is concerned, it is primarily for profitmakers. And no matter how broad the superhighway may be, we need you for the little side roads, because the superhighway users will not be taking those side roads and we will depend upon you to be providing essential information to those Americans who may not have access to broadcasting if it were not for CPB.

We have sufficient evidence to indicate that there are many Americans who would be completely devoid of radio and television were it not for CPB and public radio. So, yours is a very important job, to make certain that all Americans are made aware of what is going on.

Once again, we thank you very much for offering yourself and we congratulate you, and I congratulate the President for picking someone of your caliber, sir.

Mr. SAGNER. Thank you, Senator.

Senator INOUE. Thank you, and with that we will stand in adjournment.

[Whereupon, at 4:10 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]



## APPENDIX

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### QUESTIONS ASKED BY SENATOR MCCAIN AND ANSWERS THERETO BY MR. SAGNER

*Question.* In the journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies, according to an article entitled "Cuban political Action in the United States," by Robert Riefe, it has been asserted that you were one of the founding members of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Please comment. How long were you a member of this organization?

*Answer.* I had been aware, through my reading of history, of the sad history of Cuba since the Spanish American War. During the repressive dictatorship of Batista, some vacationed in Havana where American gangsters ran the gambling and other immoral and corrupt tourist attractions. I refused to join my friends to travel there and support that government. I was, however, prepared to respond, along with others, to what appeared to be the possibility of change and reform. Indeed, the arrival of Fidel Castro in Havana was hailed by the Eisenhower/Nixon administration as a positive event heralding the end of a brutal dictatorship and the beginning of democratic rule.

After the initial favorable response, a great many articles appearing in some of the national press, gave a negative picture of the revolution. I read several articles that painted a different picture, and this prompted me to see whether by presenting all the facts about what was happening in Cuba, it might be possible to achieve what many had hoped for with the overthrow of Batista. My role in the starting of Fair Play is described in an article I wrote in 1960, which I kept (copy enclosed herewith).

Within a year or two after the group was organized for the purpose I described, I ended my relationship. I perceived that people were getting involved whose purpose and mission were different than mine. It also became clear to me that the time for the possibility of a good relationship between the United States and Cuba had passed and, therefore, there was no reason for me to remain involved.

#### "HOW THE FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE WAS FORMED

"In common with many other Americans, I was disturbed and confused this winter by the unfavorable reports in the papers concerning Castro's Cuba.

"Then, in January, within a few weeks, I read three articles that painted a different picture. Two were letters to the editor of the New York Times—one by the noted writer and authority on South and Central America, Waldo Frank—and one from Rev. Robert Reed, Presbyterian Minister from Long Branch, NJ, both depicting eyewitness accounts of an encouraging situation in Cuba. A thorough report in The Nation, entitled "Castro's Cuba," by the experienced correspondent Robert Taber, further confirmed that the American public was not receiving all the facts.

"I arranged a meeting in New York with them and several mutual friends. We agreed to form the Committee. Our motive was one of simple humanitarianism for the Cuban people, who have suffered so long; but even more, the selfish devotion to our own nation, which was being led into following a policy that we felt in the long run would impair its peaceful and prosperous way of life.

"Waldo Frank, Taber, and I wrote to people we knew personally, or knew about, who had a reputation for devotion to liberal causes, without regard to their political beliefs or even their views on Cuba. All we asked was their support of our position—to present the facts that were not getting to the public. We have not taken a position of unqualified support of Castro's government, but are solely dedicated to the premise that small and underprivileged countries be allowed to solve their peculiar problems, both social and economic, without undue pressure.

"The funds for our advertisement in the New York Times, April 6, came from people who agreed with what we are doing—contributed in many individual

small amounts. No money for this ad or our mailings was received from Cuba or the Cuban government or any other agency or institution.

"Inasmuch as certain newspapers, columnists, and commentators have questioned the inspiration and support of the Committee, and as I know, it developed as described above, I feel I should identify myself. I am a graduate of the University of Maryland, class of 1942, and live in suburban South Orange, NJ, with wife and three children. I am a land developer and builder, charter member and past president of the Livingston Rotary Club, member of the Orange Mountain Council of the Boy Scouts of America, vice president of Newark's largest hospital, board of governors, Essex County Chapter—American Cancer Society, and a registered Democrat. It sounds very sinister, doesn't it, Mr. S-----y?"

*Question.* Please note with specificity your involvement with this organization, and specifically list and describe all activities you engaged in on behalf of this organization.

*Answer.* Other than beginning to get people together who shared my views, as expressed in the article mentioned above, I did not take an active role. In the first year, I spoke to groups to explain the purpose of Fair Play and my involvement.

*Question.* Please supply a complete list of all contributions made by you or your immediate family to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

*Answer.* I no longer have any record of my contributions. My recollection is that it did not exceed several thousand dollars. No member of my immediate family made any contribution, to the best of my recollection. (See p. 5 for contributions.)

*Question.* Did you ever raise money for this organization? If so, how much and when?

*Answer.* In talks and correspondence on the organizing of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, there were probably incidental requests for contributions. Fund raising was not a major activity of mine. I have no record or recollection of how much, if any, resulted from my effort.

*Question.* Are you knowledgeable about who or what group(s) funded the Fair Play for Cuba Committee? If so, please specify.

*Answer.* No, other than money received as explained in a previous question. At the time I ceased my activity, there were rumors that some money for advertisements had come from Cuban sources. I had no knowledge if the rumors were true or not.

*Question.* Do you know Robert Taber? If so, please describe the nature of your relationship.

*Answer.* Yes, I knew Robert Taber. As discussed in the attached article, I met him and discussed his writing about the revolution, and we developed the idea of forming Fair Play to present a complete report on the events occurring in Cuba. I believe he remained active in Fair Play after I left. I haven't seen him since then.

*Question.* What positions did you serve for Governor Byrne of New Jersey?

*Answer.* I served in his cabinet as Commissioner of the Department of Transportation.

*Question.* In what capacity did you serve Governor Byrne during his election campaign? Please specify.

*Answer.* I was a member of the finance committee during his primary campaign for Governor of New Jersey and became Finance Chair when the Chair, Archer Alexander, Jr., resigned. I was also Chair of his Inauguration Committee.

*Question.* Please note with specificity, including dates and amounts, all donations, loans, direct gifts, or gifts-in-kind made to Governor Byrne either as governor or as a candidate for the office of governor.

*Answer.* I don't have these records. All gifts were made in accordance with existing New Jersey election law.

*Question.* In your biographical information supplied to the Senate Commerce Committee, you noted political contributions made by yourself since 1985. Please list similar information dating from 1975 to 1985.

*Answer.* I am enclosing a schedule of political contributions from 1982 through 1984 to supplement the record from 1985 to the present. I do not have my records of the period preceding 1982.

#### Alan Sagner Contributions—1982–84

Date	Title	Amount
28-Feb-82	Friends of Merlino .....	\$100.00
31-Jul-82	Merlino for Congress .....	250.00
28-Feb-82	Adam Levin for Congress .....	500.00



## Alan Sagner Contributions—1982–84—Continued

Date	Title	Amount
31–Aug–82	Adam Levin for Congress .....	250.00
28–Feb–82	Bill Bradley for Senate .....	500.00
30–Nov–82	Bill Bradley for Senate .....	500.00
30–Jun–82	Friends of Tom Bradley .....	1,000.00
31–Mar–82	Shapiro—82 .....	250.00
30–Apr–82	Shapiro—82 .....	4,750.00
30–Jun–82	Peter Shapiro Campaign Committee .....	1,000.00
31–Oct–82	Reelect Shapiro Campaign .....	1,200.00
30–Nov–82	Reelect Shapiro Campaign .....	500.00
31–Mar–82	Lautenberg for U.S. Senate .....	1,000.00
31–Aug–82	Lautenberg for U.S. Senate .....	1,000.00
31–Mar–82	NJ State Democratic Committee .....	2,500.00
30–Sep–82	NJ State Democratic Committee .....	500.00
31–Oct–82	NJ State Democratic Committee .....	500.00
31–May–82	Essex County Democratic Committee .....	1,000.00
31–Oct–82	Essex County Democratic Committee .....	5,500.00
31–Jan–83	Mondale for President .....	1,000.00
28–Feb–83	Democratic National Party .....	500.00
28–Feb–83	NY State Democratic Committee .....	1,000.00
28–Feb–83	Friends of Shapiro Committee .....	500.00
30–Apr–83	Branch for U.S. Senate .....	100.00
30–Apr–83	Democratic Congressional Dinner Committee .....	1,000.00
30–Apr–83	Woodrow Wilson Democratic Society .....	250.00
31–May–83	Lyman for Senate .....	250.00
31–May–83	Essex County Democratic Committee .....	1,000.00
31–May–83	Van-Wagman Campaign .....	500.00
30–Jun–83	Democratic State Committee .....	1,500.00
31–Oct–83	Democratic Committee—Jim Roe .....	1,000.00
31–Oct–83	Democratic Committee—Van Wagman .....	500.00
31–Oct–83	Democratic Committee—Orrechio .....	1,000.00
31–Oct–83	Democratic Committee—Jim Bachman .....	1,000.00
31–Oct–83	Essex County Democratic Committee .....	125.00
30–Nov–83	Essex County Democratic Committee .....	500.00
31–Dec–83	1984 Democratic Presidential Trust .....	5,000.00
31–Jan–84	Jim Hunt for Congress .....	500.00
31–Jan–84	Lautenberg Committee .....	500.00
28–Feb–84	New Hampshire for Mondale .....	1,000.00
28–Feb–84	Lynn Adelman for Congress .....	500.00
30–Apr–84	Toricelli for Congress .....	500.00
31–May–84	NJ State Democratic Committee .....	500.00
30–Jun–84	Jim Hunt for Congress .....	500.00
30–Jun–84	Democratic National Committee .....	700.00
30–Jun–84	Mondale Compliance Fund .....	1,000.00
30–Jun–84	Friends of Shapiro .....	250.00
31–Jul–84	1984 Democratic Victory Dinner .....	750.00
31–Aug–84	Democratic Senate Campaign Committee .....	5,000.00
31–Aug–84	Friends of Carmen Orrechio .....	300.00
31–Aug–84	Americans for Hart .....	1,000.00
31–Aug–84	Democratic National Committee .....	660.00
30–Sep–84	North Carolina Victory Fund .....	1,000.00
Total	.....	54,185.00

*Question.* In your biographical information supplied to the Senate Commerce Committee, you noted political contributions made by yourself since 1985. To the best of your knowledge, have other political contributions been made—in addition to those listed as being made by yourself—by your wife, Ruth Sagner?

*Answer.* Yes, my wife, Ruth Sagner has made political contributions and attached is a list from 1982 through 1994.

## Ruth Sagner Contributions—1982–3/31/94

Date	Title	Amount
31–May–82	Maguire for Senator .....	\$1,000.00

## Ruth Sagner Contributions—1982-3/31/94—Continued

Date	Title	Amount
31-Mar-83	Mondale for President .....	1,000.00
31-May-83	Bill Bradley—U.S. Senate .....	500.00
30-Jun-84	Mondale Compliance Fund .....	1,000.00
31-Aug-84	Americans for Hart .....	1,000.00
31-Mar-82	Bill Bradley for Congress .....	250.00
31-May-84	Bill Bradley for Congress .....	500.00
30-Sep-84	Bill Bradley for Congress .....	300.00
31-May-84	1984 Democratic Victory Fund .....	5,000.00
31-May-84	Norman D'Anours for U.S. Senate .....	1,000.00
31-Mar-85	Mondale Assessment Fund .....	1,000.00
31-May-85	Peter Shapiro .....	800.00
31-Jul-85	Peter Shapiro .....	800.00
31-Mar-86	Lautenberg Committee .....	500.00
30-Apr-86	Leahy for U.S. Senate .....	1,000.00
31-May-86	Bob Edgar for Senate .....	1,000.00
30-Jun-86	Frank Ashin for Congress .....	1,000.00
31-Oct-86	Mark Green for U.S. Senate .....	1,000.00
29-Feb-88	Dukakis for President .....	750.00
16-Jun-88	Payne for Congress .....	1,000.00
05-Apr-89	Bradley for U.S. Senate .....	5,500.00
08-Jan-90	Inaugural 1990 .....	500.00
03-Sep-91	Americans for Harkin .....	250.00
16-Dec-91	Americans for Harkin .....	750.00
10-Jan-92	Boxer for Senate .....	1,000.00
12-May-92	Democrats for Change .....	1,000.00
17-Jun-92	FOCUS—Emily's List .....	5,000.00
25-Jun-92	Democratic National Committee .....	15,000.00
30-May-92	Carol Moseley Brown—U.S. Senate .....	1,000.00
14-Jan-93	Florio Exploratory Committee .....	1,000.00
25-Feb-93	Bill Bradley for U.S. Senate .....	500.00
09-Mar-93	Blackwell for Congress .....	600.00
09-Mar-93	Shipnick for Congress .....	500.00
28-Apr-93	Democratic National Committee .....	7,500.00
17-Apr-93	Florio—93 .....	100.00
14-Sep-93	Campaign—93 .....	1,000.00
20-Sep-93	Terry for Governor .....	1,000.00
20-Sep-93	Cathie Seidman for Senate .....	1,000.00
20-Sep-93	Roberts for Governor .....	1,000.00
27-Oct-93	Brown for Governor .....	1,000.00
27-Oct-93	Emily's List .....	5,000.00
26-Feb-94	DSCC—Women's Council .....	1,500.00
25-Feb-94	Boyle for Senate .....	500.00
25-Feb-94	Getsch for Governor .....	500.00
14-Mar-94	Yeshel for Governor .....	500.00
14-Mar-94	Ann Richards for Governor .....	500.00
14-Mar-94	Diane Feinstein for Senate .....	1,000.00
Total	.....	71,600.00

*Question.* From 1974-1977, you served as a Commissioner on the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. Please note specifically what duties that position entailed.

*Answer.* As a Commissioner, I was one of 12; 6 from New Jersey and 6 from New York State. The role of the Commissioner was similar to that of a trustee of the board of a company. We reviewed reports from the administration through the Executive Director, and under the leadership of the Chairman, made policy decisions. We also used our position to represent our separate States and make certain that policies and programs of the agency were equitable regarding each State's interests.

*Question.* As a Commissioner, where you made aware of all the financial dealings of the Port Authority? Did you have any supervisory authority over financial matters?

*Answer.* From among the commissioners a Finance Committee was selected that went into the details of financial dealings of the Authority. This pertained to economic feasibility of capital projects, operating expenses, and very important, the



management of the large borrowing of the Authority. Their recommendations were reported to the full board for vote.

I was not a member of the Finance Committee while a Commissioner, but had to vote on its recommendations. Each Commissioner received complete details well in advance of meetings and often we debated issues before voting. When I became Chairman of the Authority, it was my responsibility to work closely with the Committee before it reported to the Board and to blend its financial deliberations with the overall planning policies of the Authority and the concern of the officials of the 2 states we served. I served as Chairman from 1977 to 1985.

The financial operations of the Port Authority were a major issue when I became Chair, as the result of disclosure of questionable practices by some staff and commissioners that had not been known by the Board. As Chair, I ordered a thorough investigation, taking action where appropriate. I then introduced a new office of Auditor General, with broad powers to prevent any improper future activities from being concealed from the Board in the future.

*Question.* Were you made aware of any contracts or projects entered into by the Port Authority?

*Answer.* The answer to the previous question also applies to contracts and projects of the Port Authority. As Chair, I had to consult with and obtain approval from the legislatures and governors of both States, as their approval was necessary to initiate new major projects.

For example, Governor Byrne wanted the Port Authority to assist the State in financing public rail transportation. Our Bond Covenant prohibited financing rail transportation. To meet the Governor's request, it was necessary to work with Congress to get legislation that gave us a way to get the program the Governor wanted.

*Question.* Were you allowed to vote or comment on any contracts or projects entered into by the Port Authority?

*Answer.* Yes, on all those that were of any major substance financially or politically, we reviewed in detail before approving.

*Question.* In 1992 you served as a Manager Trustee of the Democratic National Committee. At the same time you state that you served as the organizer of Republicans for Clinton-Gore? What did that position entail?

*Answer.* There were business people I knew in New Jersey who had been registered Republicans, and in some cases active politically, who I was aware were not planning to support the Bush/Quayle ticket for a variety of reasons. As a strong supporter and fund raiser for the Clinton/Gore slate, I arranged for them to form a separate group that would collect funds from fellow Republicans and publicize their reasons for switching allegiances in the election. With the cooperation of the Democratic National Committee, we arranged several press conferences and press releases, and that was the extent of my involvement.

*Question.* You have stated that you ended your relationship with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPFC) "within a year or two after the group was organized." Can you please be more specific.

*Answer.* I really can't be more specific. When it became apparent that the efforts of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee to help bring about a productive relationship between my country and Cuba were fruitless, I just stopped any contact with those who were active.

*Question.* You state that you addressed groups on behalf of FPFC. a) What groups did you address? b) Did addressing any of these groups involve travel? If so, please list places to which you traveled.

*Answer.* I have no record or memory of the specific groups that I addressed, or any travel, with one exception; I do remember an interview in Philadelphia on a local radio station. It stays in my memory because some local people, who were negotiating to do business with my late father-in-law, heard me and told him about it. He didn't share my optimism about the possibility of good relations with Cuba and let me know, in no uncertain terms, about his lack of appreciation for my involvement.

*Question.* On April 6, 1960, an advertisement appeared in the New York Times. Copy attached. Your name appears in the advertisement. Please comment.

*Answer.* The ad was put together, I believe, by Taber and others, in order to see if there were any other people who shared our view about the reporting on events in Cuba.

*Question.* Do you agree with the text of the advertisement?

*Answer.* I assume I did at the time. I didn't prepare the copy, and for me, the importance of the ad was the formation of the committee. Please note the small box that appears in the ad over the names, which says, "This public appeal for Fair Play for Cuba has the support of a group of thinking individuals, holding a variety of political persuasions, representing no one but themselves, linked here by a single

common concern—for the overriding principle of justice, which is always at issue wherever partisan interest clashes with simple truth \* \* \*

*Question.* You state that you perceived that “people were getting involved [with FPFC] whose purpose and mission were different than mine.” What “purpose and mission” was that? Please list the names of the people to whom you are referring. Please be specific.

*Answer.* Taber was interested in continuing Fair Play and reaching out to form “chapters” in other cities. I was 40 years old and very active with my young family and my building operations in New Jersey, and not interested in building or promoting an organization, when my original reason for getting involved in Fair Play for Cuba was no longer possible. At this time, other than Taber, I can’t recall the names of other people who were involved that long ago.

*Question.* Please state for the record what you know of Mr. Robert Taber.

*Answer.* I know no more than I have reported in response to your previous questions. I read his article in *The Nation*, found out he had been in Cuba, and was a reporter for CBS. I know nothing about him or his activities before we met, or since that time.

*Question.* Do you know Mr. Richard Gibson? If so, please describe the nature of the relationship.

*Answer.* Richard Gibson, I believe, was an associate of Taber’s, who worked with him at CBS and was among those who became involved in Fair Play very early on. I must have met him, but I had no particular relationship with him.

*Question.* Do you know of or have you ever been associated with the Liberation Committee for Africa? If so, please specify.

*Answer.* No.

*Question.* Did you ever publicly disassociate yourself with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, yes or no? If the answer is yes, please specify when and supply documentation supporting your claim. If the answer is no, and you disagreed with the direction the organization was going, why not?

*Answer.* No. I didn’t think it was necessary. I thought it was sufficient for me to terminate my involvement. I couldn’t see any possibility of fulfilling my objectives, and I had other things to do.

*Question.* Do you know Dr. Herbert Aptheker? If so, please describe the nature of the relationship.

*Answer.* No.

*Question.* You forwarded an article to me written by yourself entitled “How the Fair Play for Cuba Committee Was Formed.” a) When was that article published? b) Where was that article published? c) Why did you write this article? d) Who is the individual referred to as “Mr. S-----y”?

*Answer.* Fair Play put out a newsletter and the article was in the May 6, 1960, and I kept a copy. I wrote the article because reports in the press, particularly by Mr. George Sokolsky, a columnist in a newspaper that I think is no longer in existence in New York, and a strong supporter of Sen. Joe McCarthy, stated that Fair Play was started by the Cuban government. As I knew that was not true, I wrote that article.

*Question.* In the biography section of the article referred to a previous question, it states that “until a few weeks ago, he [Mr. Alan Sagner] had never been to Cuba.”

a) Did you visit Cuba before writing this article? b) If yes, how long did you stay there? c) what was the purpose of your visit? d) Did you or have you ever met with Fidel Castro? e) Have you ever returned to Cuba since? If so, please list the dates and purposes for such visits.

*Answer.* I went to Cuba about the time I wrote the article, and presumably it was just before that. I was there less than a week. The purpose of my visit was to see what was happening there and to meet and talk to some Cubans. I called on people whose names I believe I got from Taber and/or from Charles Santos Busch, a Cuban medical student at Columbia University. I did not meet Fidel Castro on that visit. I did meet him briefly when he was in New York to visit the United Nations. I have not returned to Cuba since that initial visit.

*Question.* In 1974, New Jersey State Senator Anthony Imperiale (listed as both an Independent and Democrat from the Newark area, Essex county) attempted to “blackball” your nomination as a New Jersey Commissioner to the NY/NJ Port Authority. Please comment.

*Answer.* My recollection is that it was at my confirmation hearing as commissioner of Transportation for New Jersey D.O.T., not for the Port Authority. Senator Imperiale and I had a bad relationship. He was from Newark, and was a strong and active opponent of efforts to promote civil rights and integration in housing and schooling in Newark. On a local TV station, during a discussion, he referred to the Reverend Martin Luther King as “Martin Luther Coon”. As the President of a hos-



pital in Newark and a strong advocate for civil rights legislation and action, I didn't conceal my negative opinion of Senator Imperiale and his actions. When he opposed my confirmation, he didn't challenge my ability to run the Transportation Department, but objected because I had been an organizer of Fair Play over a decade before. When he was asked by the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee what this had to do with my being Commissioner of Transportation, he stated that if there were an invasion of the United States, I, as Commissioner, could block the highways and prevent our troops from maneuvering. The Committee didn't accept his judgment of my loyalty to my country and the relevance of his concern, and I was immediately confirmed.

*Question.* You state that in your capacity as the organizer of Republicans for Clinton/Gore you contacted many individuals whom you knew were Republicans and were planning to support then-candidate Clinton. You also state that you made it possible for them to publicize their reasons for "switching allegiances." Please list the names of those people to whom you are referring.

*Answer.* I am enclosing an article that describes the Republicans for Clinton.

[The Star-Ledger, Thursday, Oct. 15, 1992]

## GOP BUSINESS LEADERS LINE UP BEHIND CLINTON

(By David Wald)

Republican business executives from New Jersey and elsewhere yesterday said they were supporting Democrat Bill Clinton for President because President Bush has failed to understand the economic problems facing the country.

The businessmen from New Jersey joined Republicans for Clinton, a group organized in the State in the summer by prochoice GOP women.

Allen Bildner, the former Kings Supermarket chief executive, and Albert Gamper, the chief executive officer of the CIT Group, a financial services company, said Bush had failed to exercise leadership on a host of domestic issues.

"Whatever the reason, our President doesn't seem to be exercising the leadership, the creativity, or the programs to help deal with these problems," said Bildner, 66, now the chairman of a management and consulting company.

Bildner contributed heavily to the Republican Party in 1988 and was a member of the RNC's Team 100. Two weeks ago, he attended a \$50,000 per person fundraiser for the Democratic National Committee and Clinton.

"I never dreamed I'd be standing here as a Republican for Clinton," Bildner said.

Gamper, 50, said he, too, had voted for Bush's election.

"The American economy is not in good shape today, and I don't see anything coming out of the present administration that changes my concern," he said.

Gamper added he thought it was time for a "generational change" at the White House.

Bildner and Gamper spoke about the Presidential campaign at a news conference yesterday held at the Secaucus law firm of Waters, McPherson & McNeill.

They were joined by Louis Cabot, the retired chairman of the Cabot Corp., a specialty chemicals company based in Boston, and Roger Johnson, the chairman of Western Digital Corp. of Irvine, CA, two chief executive officers who are traveling around the country for Clinton.

"These days when I leave Orange County it's to a great round of applause," Johnson joked. Orange County, in southern California, is heavily Republican.

Johnson said he had become disappointed with Bush more than a year ago.

He said the Bush administration denied and misunderstood the economic problems in the country.

"They said all we had to do was to keep the Government away a little longer and everything will be OK. It isn't OK."

Nancy Rubin, a volunteer for the Democratic Presidential campaign, said similar sessions with business executives would be held in six other States before election day: Maine, Connecticut, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and North Carolina.

William Palatucci, the executive director of the Bush reelection campaign in New Jersey, was not impressed by the endorsements for Clinton.

"We have as many or more chief executive officers across the country who are still very supportive," he said. "We don't know of any American corporations who are going to do better in the higher tax, bigger government Mr. Clinton will create."

A New Jersey business council for Clinton was organized earlier this year by Alan Sagner, a long-time Democratic Party activist who is a developer and the former chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey.

Republicans for Clinton was founded by Jennifer Hauge of Convent Station and Heidi Ehman of Hawthorne, who endorsed Clinton last July because of his prochoice position on abortion.

The business executives acknowledged they were likely to pay higher taxes if Clinton is elected and follows through on a promise to hike income taxes on those who earn more than \$200,000 a year.

Bildner said, "Most Americans would be willing to pay more if they had confidence in the way it would be spent."

Cabot, who is a trustee of the Brookings Institute in Washington, said, "It's important that Clinton hasn't painted himself into a corner like George Bush did. You have to do something about the revenue side."

*Question.* How would you describe your political point of view?

*Answer.* I am a Democrat and have been a strong and active supporter of fly party, beginning with Franklin Delano Roosevelt. I haven't always agreed with my party's policies, but I support the Democrats because I believe they are dedicated to a strong and constructive role for government at the state and federal level, and that is what I strongly believe is necessary to maintain a civil and productive society in this increasingly complicated world.

*Question.* Please state again why you believe you are qualified to serve on the Corporation for Public Broadcasting Board.

*Answer.* Repeating the statements that I made in my appearance before the senate Committee, I would like to add the following:

I believe that the Corporation for Public Broadcasting faces serious challenges in the future.

(1) It must operate efficiently and handle its funds in a responsible, businesslike way, to justify support in years of budget restrictions. I have been successful in a tough, competitive business for 50 years, and have always fulfilled my obligations in an honest and efficient way, which is based on my understanding of fiscal management.

I carried this ability over into my years in government service and saw that the taxpayers, or in the case of the Port Authority, the users, got full value. As I have described before, I am particularly concerned about independent auditing of expenses, to make certain that all monies are spent for the purposes for which they were intended. I can bring this to the CPB as a board member.

(2) Public broadcasting must present a fair and balanced array of programs if it is to be supported by the public. In my judgment, this can be done by developing a true relationship with members of Congress, of all political perspectives, so that there is a level of trust and understanding of the needs to be fulfilled on both sides.

As Commissioner of the New Jersey Department of Transportation, and as Chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, I had to deal with the legislatures and executives of government in two states. I received high marks for my ability to achieve understanding and cooperation and to obtain the necessary legislative approvals.

Public broadcasting must be accountable to the public, and no one represents the public better than those elected to serve it. That is why developing this strong relationship is essential, and why I can bring my experience in doing that to the CPB.

As a member of the board of Business Executives for National Security, I have been active in the successful effort of BENS to influence legislation to accomplish its purpose of a businesslike expenditure of public monies for defense. BENS obtained Congressional support for rational and successful base closing legislation—legislation that allowed the military to close bases that it didn't want and direct that money to needed programs.

The legislation creating CPB specifically called for the President to appoint members to the board with a specific balance of Democrats and Republicans. I am an active Democrat, in fundraising, contributing and government service for many years, and I can bring that partisan balance that the law requires.







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